

THE BACKGROUND

36/ brave and laughing, like as it were to some free woman who has known so many grasping dirty masters, and remains fresh in all her shame.

172 Farther down the river below the conflux of the Rioni and the Qwirila, lay in the Classic time Rhodopolis¹; it is Vardis-
 • [103] tzikhe of the Georgians, in literal translation "the castle of the rose". Situated on low ground among the woods, it became a favourite winter residence of the Lazic and Imerian kings. Men dealt badly by it; the natives razed their rose castle in the Lazic War (A.D. 549) to prevent its seizure by the Persians; about twelve centuries later the Russians smashed the ageing walls of the Imerian foundation, "*afin d'empêcher les Turcs d'y prendre position*".² And thus when Dubois visited the site, about a hundred years back, he found that nothing rested but a strong wall of seven or eight feet in thickness, of which a part dated, perhaps, from the time of the Lazcs, for it was in their style of architecture.³ Lower down, again, in the angle of the conflux of the Tskhenis-tsqali with the Rioni, was the "plain of oaks" Mukherisi,⁴ dominated by a fortress of the name, a hold much contested in the Lazic War. And higher up the Tskhenis-tsqali was Onurgurisi, Khoni⁵ of later days, commanding the way up into the mountains to the Svanian country. Many more were the sea-ports, towns and castles of the Colchian-Lazic basin, from Bathys, "the deep anchorage";⁶ near the mouth of the Chorokhi and Phasis at the mouth of the Rioni,⁷ round the crescent up to Dioscurias; inland to Petra,⁸ a Roman stronghold under the Gurian hills, and to Alexandria,⁹ which twin-marcher fort with Sarapana¹⁰ guarded the way over the mountains from Iberia.

[103] But there was one place in all this country so much older than the others in tradition that the Greeks distinguished it as Archæopolis—"the ancient city"—and the Georgians, through the long years to this present day, have named the site of it Nakalakevi, which has the meaning of "where there was once a town". In Wakhushiti's time, Nakalakevi was an obscure Mingrelian borough, a residence of the Dadianis,

¹ Procopius, VIII, xiii. 22.

² Dubois, II, 221.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Mocheria of Procopius, who calls it and Rhodopolis "two cities of the greatest importance".

⁵ Dubois, I, 491.

⁶ Now Batumi (Georgian—Batumi).

⁷ Phasis—the mediæval Pasa—now Poti. The lower course of the Rioni was called also Phasis by the Classic writers.

⁸ Dubois, III, 86, located the site of Petra by the village of Ujenez.

⁹ Dubois, II, 72, and Wakhushiti, p. 363, use the mediæval Georgian name Shandis.

¹⁰ Shoropani.

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seventh century B.C., but it is possible, as in the case of Nakulakevi that the cities of Tubal and Meshech were founded on or near the sites of earlier settled centres dating to the Bronze Age. Kartli or Armazi, its later name when it had become the shrine of the Magian cult, was known to the Romans as Harmozika, while Mtskheta is the Mestika of Pliny and—apparently—the Seusamora of Strabo.¹ Mtskheta seems to have replaced Armazi as the capital some time during the first century A.D., possibly in view of its greater strategic convenience, opposite the Daryal Pass, during the war with the Alans. Kartli-Armazi was, according to Wakhushiti, finally ruined by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. Place-names in the immediate neighbourhood of the site still seem to retain some fragmentary memory of departed grandeur; to the west, across the Kartlis-khevi, are the ruins of Tzikhédidi—"the great castle"; to the east is a spot called Nakulakevi—"where there was once a bazaar".

Mtskheta, eventually, was replaced by Tiflis—Georgian Tpilisi.² Tiflis, if it existed at all during the Classic period, can have been only a small village. Tiflis first received some importance during the fourth century when a Persian military governor with a view to maintaining surveillance over the Iberian king in Mtskheta, built a fortress—*Kalah*—on the famous hill of Tiflis. In the following century, according to tradition, that somewhat shadowy paladin of the Georgian Annals, King Wakhtang Gurgaslani abandoned Mtskheta and established his capital in Tiflis. Certainly at the beginning of the sixth century Tiflis had become a walled city and the seat of the Iberian dynasty—at that time a cadet branch of the Persian Sasanids. The original foundation of the Cathedral of Sioni dates from the same century. At the time of the Arab conquest in the seventh century, Tiflis was a very thriving place and with Barda'a and Derbend it remained for three centuries a stronghold of Mussulman power and a

¹ Strabo, XI, iii. "They have on their banks strong cities, set upon rocks, at the distance from each other of about 18 stadia, as Harmozika on the Cyrus, and on the other (Aragus) Seusamora." Hamilton, entirely at random, identifies Harmozika as Akhaltsikhe, but his identifications of Caucasian place-names are worthless. It is of course Armazi. Dubois identifies Seusamora as Samtavro (the place of the *Mtsvari*), but Strabo's distance, a little over two miles from Armazi, leaves little doubt in my mind that his Seusamora was Mtskheta.

² For the history of Tiflis see D. Bakradze and N. Berzenov, *Tiflis v'istoricheskoi i etnographicheskoi otkrytikhakh*, Spb., 1870. Bakradze, a competent archaeologist, states that the Arabs built an observatory in the Kalah of Tiflis. Both Chardin (end of seventeenth century) and Pitton de Tournefort (beginning eighteenth century) give interesting descriptions of Tiflis. Of later European travellers Dubois de Montpereux (Vols. II and III) is the best. For a scientific summary of the historical topography see the excellent and learned article by V. Minorski in *EL*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAPTER III

Note C.—On the Name Tubal

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For the anthropology of Western Asia see the excellent work of PROF. J. L. MYRES in C.A.H., Vol. I, Chapters I and II. Myres (pp. 72 *et seq.*), in discussing the connection of "Alpine" man with the "lake-dwelling" culture of Europe, remarks:

"ancient descriptions of pile dwellings in water-logged valleys of North Syria and Georgia, unverified as yet by excavation, suggest that our Alpine lake settlements are to be regarded as a western section of a very large region of early and essentially homogeneous culture, adapted to the conditions of a moist forest-clad lake-land, such as Asia Minor, and much of the highland region eastward of it must have constituted during the long 'pluvial' period which was the counter-part of the Ice-Age in Europe".

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In relation to this lake-dwelling culture, it is of interest to consider the tribal name-form UPLOS-TUBAL. In Georgian the word *tba* means "lake". This word forms the root of many Georgian geographical names; e.g. Tbeti (*tba* + *eti* = "the lake district" in Shavsheti; Tibanieri, a village near Kutais; Tobagure, a village in Mingrelia; Diditba ("great lake"), a village in the Tiflis province; Tobatqe ("forest lake"), a village in the Zakatali district. Many ethnic names have been interpreted as derived from the names for lakes and rivers, and it may be suggested that the root of the ethnic names TUBAL-TOBEL-TIBAR may be derived from the word *tba* = lake. The Mingrelian equivalent of the Georgian *tba* is *toba*, which is also the old Georgian form. The Svanian word *tibar* means both "lake" and "deep defile". A lake-dweller is in Georgian *tbeli*, in Mingrelian *tobeli*. The Caucasian name-form TUBAL-TIBER-IBER is widespread through the area of the Mediterranean world, as, for example, Italian TIBER, Spanish EBRO, and its recurrence in regions geographically far apart remains a difficult problem of linguistic paleontology. In connection with the Georgian *tba* it is also interesting to compare Irish place-names, e.g. Tobermory, Toberdaly, etc. Cf. MACRAIN, *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, *tobar* = a well. Old Irish *topar*. . . . Some have referred *tobar* to the root *ber* of *inibir* . . . *abar* (*obair*). *Abar* occurs only in Pictish place-names.

Note D.—On the Georgian Language

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For the comparative study of the Georgian language the reader is referred to the following authorities, all of whose works are to be found either at the British Museum or at the London Library.

1. For the "Indo-European" theory, F. BOFF, *Die Kaukasischen Glieder des Indoeuropäischen Sprachstamme*, 1847; BROSET, *l'Art Libéral ou Grammaire Géorgienne*, Paris, 1834.

2. For the "Turanian" or "Ural-Altaic" theory, see works and articles of MAX MÜLLER and JACQUES DE MORGAN; contra, A. TSAGARELI.

3. For the "Semitic" theory see works of A. KALIAN and A. TROMBETTI (particularly his letter to Hugo Schuchart published in *Giornale della*

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Società Asiatica Italiana, 1902, in which he deals with the inter-relationship of the Semitic, Hamitic and Caucasian families. 115

4. For the "Isolierte Volker" theory see works of FRED. MÜLLER, POTT, K. R. LEPsius, T. H. BENFey, SPIEGEL and SCHUCHART.

5. For the "Japhetic" theory see MARR's standard work on Georgian, *Osnovnye Tablitsy Grammatiki Drevne-Gruzinskogo Yazika*, Spb, 1908, and his article "Gruzinakie Yazik" in *Bol. Sov. Éntz.*, Vol. 19. Reference should also be made to his many articles in *Doklady, Iz. R.A.N., Iz. Gos. Ak. I.M.K., Mat. Yaf., Novye Vostok, Yaf. Sbor., Yaf. Lit.*, etc. For a summary of the "Japhetic" theory see MARR's *Der Japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element in Bildungsprozess der Mittelländischen Kultur*, translated from the Russian by F. Braun, Berlin, 1923.

6. For the "Alarodian Theory" based on Sayce's decipherment of the cuneiform, see the works of SATCE, LENORMANT, HOMMEL, MARR. Cf. also WINCELER, HUISTING, BORK, etc. For comparison also of Georgian with Sumerian see HOMMEL, and M. TSERETELI, "Sumerian and Georgian: a study in Comparative Philology" in *J.R.A.S.*, 1913-16.

7. For the Kanesian language of Boghaz Keui see works of KNUDTZEN 197 and HROZNY who established the Indo-European character of Kanesian. There are, however, certain elements in Kanesian which according to Georgian scholars have affinity with Georgian, i.e. adjectival and adverbial terminations. The Kanesian instrumental case-ending "is" cannot be explained on an Indo-European basis, but it is strikingly similar to the Georgian instrumental case-ending: e.g. Hittite—"water", Nom. *vadar*, Inst. *vedenit*; "man", Nom. *antubzas*, Inst. *antubsit*; Georgian—"water", Nom. *tsqali*, Inst. *tsqalit*; "man", Nom. *katsi*, Inst. *katsit*. Similarly the Kanesian abl. suffix "az" may be compared with the Georgian ablative suffix "ad". Three of the lesser-known languages of Boghaz-Keui may also be compared with Georgian—Kharrian, Luvian and Palan. It has been suggested that these were the languages of autochthonous tribes subject to the Hittite kings. It is interesting to compare the name of the Hittite capital, Karchemish, with the Georgian *Kori*, gate, and *Chemis*, 1st pers. pronoun. gen. case, hence = My gate (of the God).

For the most recent studies of Caucasian linguistics, apart from the work of the Japhetic school, see: 113

A. DIRR, *Einführung in das Studium der Kaukasischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1928 (Verlag der Asia Major).

N. TRUBETSKOI, PRINCE, in *Caucasica*, Fasc. III, pp. 7-36, "Studien auf den Gebiete der vergleichenden Lautlehre der Nordkaukasischen Sprachen".

M. TSERETELI, "Il georgiano e le sue affinità linguistiche", in *Oriente Moderno*, Anno I, Nos. 7-8.

NOTE E.—On the use of the name "Georgia".

The Georgians call themselves Kartvel-i (-ni), and their country 103 Sa-kartvel-o. The name Georgia, used in various forms by European writers, first appears in the Persian form *Gurgistan*, and it is used frequently by Arab writers from Masudi onwards in the forms *Djorx* and *Djorxon*. It appears to have no connection with the *Georgi* of Pliny (VII, 14), nor must it be confused with the *Gurjan* of Muslim writers—a name derived from and applied to the Classical *Hyrcania*. Brosset favours the derivation of the name *Georgia* from that of the river *Mtkvari* ↔ *Karas* ↔ *Cyrus* ↔ *Kura* ↔ *Djorxon*, rather than from the Greek word *gorgos*, or from the name of St. George—the latter is a popular local etymology. (See Brosset, *H. de la G.*, Introduction, p. 5.)

WESTERN GEORGIA

101 Western or *Likht'imieri* Georgia comprises the following
131 "countries" (ethnographic units) and traditional territorial divisions:
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Ap'khaset'i (Ap'khas-et'-i)—the country of the Ap'khas-es or Abkhazians,¹ which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes a Soviet Socialist Republic and is included in Georgia on a Treaty basis. Abkhazia occupies the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea littoral from the River Pso in the north-west to the Mountains of Khurum (a southern lateral range of the main Caucasus chain), in the north-east, and the River Engur in the south-east; she thus lies between the Black Sea and the western portion of the Great Caucasus from the peak Akhaktcha to the peak Gvandra, which constitutes the *Abkhazian Alps*.

Ap'khaset'i comprised, according to the Georgian annals, the following "countries": *Ap'khaset'i* proper, north-west of the town of Takhumi or Sukhum; *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i), south-east of Sukhum; and *Sharo* or *Sharoet'i*, an as yet unidentified part of *Ap'khaset'i*.²

The Abkhazians are divided into:—

Gagra—Gagr-ians, the Abkhazians of the Gagra region.

Abzephua or *Abzephua*—Bzibians of the present Gudaut (Gudaut) district, the Abkhazians proper.

Gumaa—Gum-ians, the Abkhazians of the Guma valley.

Abzhuaa or *Abzhuaa*—Abzhu-ians, the Abkhazians of the district between the Rivers Kodor and Galizga, the *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i) and *Apsh-il-el-mi*, Apshil-ians of the Georgian annals.

Samurzaqanaa or *Murzaqaniuaa*—Murzaq-an-ians or Samurzaqan-ians, the Abkhazians of Samurzaqano (Samurzakan) between the rivers Galizga (Geo. Ghalidzga) and Engur.

Dsabalaa—Dsabal-ians, the Abkhazians of *Dsibelda* (Tsebelda and Tsebeldians of the Russians), the middle valley of the Kodor.

Dalaa—Dal-ians of the Dal defile or upper *Dsibelda*. [See S. Basaria, *Abkhazia* (in Russian), Sukhum, 1923, pp. 47-8.]

Svanet'i (Svan-et'-i)—the country of the Svans-s, Svan-ians (Svanetia of the Russians), lying under the very shadow of Elbrus, the highest peak of the Great Caucasus. The boundaries of *Svanet'i* are: In the north the main Caucasus chain, which constitutes here the *Tataro-Svanetian Alps*; in the east the Likhunistsveri or Letchkhum range; in the south the Zagier, Ziadistavi, Rokal

¹ The Abkhazians call themselves *Apene* (Abene), which denotes "people of soul" and their country *Apene* (Abene), denoting "the country of soul".

² See I. Javakhishvili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1914, vol. II, p. 315.

(2,650 m.), Shui and Debash ridges; and in the west the north-eastern borders of Abkhasia.¹

Samegrelo (Sa-m-egr-el-o) or Megrelia (M-egr-el-i-a)—the country of the Megr-s, Megr-ians, or rather Egr-s, Egr-ians, called to-day Megrelians (Mingrelia and Mingrelians of the Russians), which borders upon the Black Sea and lies between the River Engur on the north-west and the rivers Tskhenis-tsqali and Rion on the east and south respectively; in the north Megrelia borders upon Svanet'i.²

Guria (Gur-i-a)—the country of the Gur-ians, which borders on the Black Sea, between the Rion and Dcholok' rivers, and occupies the basins of the Supsa and Notanebi rivers.

Imeret'i (Imer-et'-i)—the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians (Imeretia and Imeretians of the Russians), bounded on the north by the Caucasus chain, on the east by the Suram range, on the south by the Ghado range; in the west it borders upon Megrelia and Guria, and in the north-west upon Svanet'i.

Imeret'i comprises the following traditional territorial divisions:—

Letchkhumi, called formerly T'akueri,³ west of Megrelia and south of Svanet'i, from which it is separated by the Letchkhum range.

Radcha, east of Letchkhumi, occupying the upper basin of the Rion, between the Nak'erala or Radcha range in the south and the Caucasus chain in the north.

Argvet'i or **Margvet'i**, south of Radcha, occupying the valleys of the Rivers Qvirila, Tchkherimela, Tcholaburi, and their tributaries, in the eastern part of Imeret'i.

Western Georgia, the ethnographical division of which we have just described, has in the course of her history been known under different names. In ancient times she was known to the early Greeks as *Kolkhida* (Colchis), celebrated in Greek mythology as the place

¹ The Svanetian range, which is the highest of the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, divides Svanet'i into two main parts, namely—

Upper (*Zemo*) or Northern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Engur, and

Lower (*K'vemo*) or Southern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Tskhenis-tsqali.

Upper Svanet'i, in its turn, was divided into *Dadeskh'eliani's Svanet'i*, that is the western part of the country, as far as Edseri, ruled by the Princes *Dadeskh'eliani*, and *Free Svanet'i*—the eastern part, so-called because it had never been subjugated by any feudal lord, having been governed by a council of communities, constituting a defensive union in the manner of free Swiss communities. Similarly Lower Svanet'i was called *Dadiani's Svanet'i* because it had been held by the *Dadianis*, the ruling Princes of Megrelia.

² *Samegrelo* in ancient times was called *Egrisi* (Egr-is-i) or *Saegroy* (Sa-egr-o-y), also *Odishi*.

³ T'akueri (Mod. Geo. T'akveri) appears to have been also the ancient name of Radcha. Professor Javakishvili supposes that T'akveri was anciently a common name for both Letchkhumi and Radcha (op. cit., p. 314).

103 where the Golden Fleece was kept, and thus connected with the
 [131] voyage of the Argonauts. Towards the end of the first half of the first century, Kolkhida represented a united kingdom bounded on the west by the Euxine or Black Sea from Pityus (Pitsunda—Bidchvint'a) and Dioscurias (Sukhum) to Trebizond; on the north by the Great Caucasus; on the east by Iberia (the fortresses Skanda and Sarapan or Shorapan formed the boundary line); and on the south-east by the Meskhan (Moschic) Mountains. Kolkhida thus embraced not only the whole of Western, but also a part of South-Western, Georgia, namely, the later Samtskhe, Adchara, and Dchanet'i or Lazistan.

162 Classical writers (Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, Procopius) give names of many tribes dwelling within these boundaries, the more important among whom were: *Sannoi* (Dchanians), *Moskhoi* (Meskhians, only a part), *Makrones-Manraloi* (Megrelians), *Svano-Kolkhoi* (Svano-Kolkhians), *Soanes* or *Suani* (Svanians), *Apsiloi* (Apshilians), *Abaskhoi* (Abkhasians), and *Sanigai* or *Sanikhes*. In Strabo's time the Soanes or Svanians appear to have held a much larger territory, stretching from above Dioscurias (Sukhum) eastward along the Great Caucasus chain, and southward beyond the River Khobi (Khopi) which, Pliny (first century A.D.) informs us, flowed through the Svanian territory. According to Ptolemy (second century A.D.), the Laz dwelt south-west of the Kolkhians on the Black Sea littoral, and above the Kolkhians the Manraloi and the inhabitants of the country of *Ekrehtike*, which Professor Javakhishvili interprets to denote the Georgian Egrisi.¹

103 Western Georgia continued to be called Kolkhida (or Colchis)

131 until about the middle of the third century A.D., when the country already appears to be called by the new name *Lazica*. The boundaries of Lazica, west, north, east, and south-east, were the same as those of Kolkhida; the south-western boundary, however, according to Procopius (sixth century A.D.), appears to have been the town and fortress of Petra, south-west of which, the land of the Laz, along the Black Sea coast (Dchanet'i) was under the direct Byzantine administration. According to Procopius the River Rion formed in his time the boundary between Europe and Asia, and most of the Lazian population dwelt on the European side of the river; on the southern or Asiatic side, the Laz, Procopius states, possessed no towns, villages, or fortresses except Petra, which circumstance was presumably the result of the devastations caused by the Perso-Byzantine Lazic wars.¹

[162] Lazica was inhabited by the same tribes as Kolkhida, that is, according to Javakhishvili, by "three Georgian ethnic groups, the Lazo-Megrelians, the Ap'shilo-Abkhasians, and the Svanians".

103 Both the names Kolkhida and Lazica are to be comprehended in the broad and in the narrow sense. In the narrow sense Lazica, for

¹ See Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. i (1913), pp. 53-4-5.

instance, denotes the land of the Lazian tribe proper, in the south-west, 103 between the Dchorokh basin and the Black Sea, the present-day Dchanet'i or Lazistan. In the broad sense, however, Lazica implies the expansion of the political power of the Laz, the unification under their leadership of all the Georgian tribes that inhabited the then Western Georgia and the establishment over them of their politico-cultural hegemony, i.e. it denotes the State created by the Laz. The same applies to the name Kolkhida, which in the broad sense represents the State created by the Kolkhian tribe. As long as the political hegemony was in the hands of the Kolkhians the State which embraced the whole of Western Georgia was called Kolkhida after the dominant Kolkhian tribe. When, however, the Kolkhians lost their political importance, and leadership passed into the hands of the Laz, the State began to be called Lazica after the superseding Lazian tribe.

It should be noted here that none of these names, neither Kolkhida (Colchis) nor Lazica, is mentioned in any early Georgian historical or literary monuments. The name these monuments mention is **Egrisi**, and in the sense in which it undoubtedly covers Kolkhida or Lazica. According to *The Life of Georgia*—the Georgian chronicle—Egrisi constituted "the country at the corner of the Sea, with the boundaries on the east, the small mountain called to-day Likhi; on the west the Sea (and) the river of Lesser Khazaret'i,¹ where it terminates the Caucasus (range)".² Egrisi is here defined in its broad conception, and like Lazica or Kolkhida covers the whole of Western Georgia. Egrisi in the narrow sense is defined in the same source as follows: "... the Egrisis-tsqali³ and the Rion, from the sea to the mountain, within which lie Egrisi and Svanet'i" (ibid., p. 31).

It is evident from this quotation that Egrisi in this sense corre-103 sponds to Megrelia, the boundaries of which have been indicated above. 10/ If we now remember that the dominant tribe, the Lazo-Megrelians, who held the politico-cultural hegemony in Lazica, dwelt, in the words of Procopius, on the European, i.e. northern, side of the Rion, it is clear that the population of Egrisi was Lazo-Megrelian, or in the mind of the compiler of *The Georgian Life* predominantly Megrelian, for Egrisi denotes the country of the Egr-s, Egr-ians or Megr-ians. "Now," to quote Professor Marr, "the Georgians see Megrelians only in the inhabitants of the present-day Megrelia, but the ancient Georgian monuments prove that (formerly) the Georgians well knew the wider conception of the term Eger. From this stem is derived Egrisi

¹ The Kuban River.

² N. Marr, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, publié en Géorgien par M. Brosset. 1^{re} Partie, 1^{re} livraison (en partie). Rédaction faite par Nicolas Marr, St. Pb., 1923, p. 17. Also Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. II (1914), p. 311.

³ Some Georgian historians identify this river with the River Engur or Ingur.

103 under which name was understood the whole of Western Georgia with the present-day Imeret'i, Guria, Imerkhevi, etc."¹

[10] Egrisi, of the Georgian annals is thus, in so far as it embraced the whole of Western Georgia, an identical conception with and equivalent to Kolkhida and Lazica of the classical writers, in its broad, or, shall we say, collective sense.

Western Georgia has been known under yet another collective name, that of Ap'khazet'i or Abkhasia, which was given her by the Abkhassians. In the eighth century the Abkhassians became strong enough not only to assert their independence, but also to impose their hegemony upon the whole of Egrisi. Their first king, Leon I (744-791), "conquered Egrisi to the (Mountains of) Likhi,"² and Western Georgia or Egrisi was thenceforward called Ap'khazet'i or Ap'khazet'-Egrisi. The name Ap'khazet'i is thus, like its predecessors, Egrisi or Lazica and Kolkhida, to be understood in the broad and narrow sense; in the latter sense Ap'khazet'i is a part of Western Georgia, the country of the Abkhassians proper, in the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea; in the former, broad sense, Ap'khazet'i denoted not only Western Georgia but also parts of Eastern Georgia (ninth-tenth centuries). Western Georgia continued to be called Ap'khazet'i until the unification of both Eastern and Western Georgia under the single crown of Bagrat III, of the Bagratid dynasty, in 980.

During the period of the United Kingdom of Georgia, came into use the division of the country into *Likht'-imieri* and *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, and the terms *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i*. *Imeret'i* in this sense has, however, no connection whatever with the ethnic term *Imeret'i* denoting the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians.³ *Likht' Imeret'i* or *Likht'-imieri* Georgia in so far as it indicates Georgia on that side of, across, over, the Likhi or Suram range, regarded, of course, from the point of view of the K'art'lians (Eastern Georgians), denotes the whole of Western Georgia, while the ethnic term, *Imeret'i*, only a certain region in this *Likht'-imieri* Georgia or *Likht' Imeret'i*.

"In antiquity, of course, the Imer-s occupied," Marr states, "a considerably larger area; their name has been preserved as a survival in a district of the Batum Province (Imer-khevi, which denotes the Imerian defile), and from historical geography, too, we know that

¹ N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhassians, and Alans* by St. Gregory, an Arab version (in Russian) in *Bulletin ("Zapishi") of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, St. Pb., 1906, vol. xvi, p. 169.

² According to Brosset in 787; see his *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pb., 1849, 1^{re} partie, p. 259, n. 3.

³ The abstract forms *Imeret'i* and *Ameret'i* are derived from the adjectives *imier* and *amier* (by the elision of the medial i) and in this formation are equivalent to the Latin *trans-* and *cis-* respectively. *Likht'-imieri* Georgia may therefore be translated *trans-Likhian* Georgia; similarly *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, *cis-Likhian* Georgia. The abstract form, however, is an abnormal, purely artificial formation, and *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i* literally denote "Likh-Transia" and "Likh-Cisia."

the terms Imeret'i and Mingrelia were identical; to this effect we have also a linguistic basis, but, nevertheless, *imer* is one of the local differentiated ancient forms of a general ethnic term, preserved as a survival by a definite and ethnographically differentiated region. The full, more ancient form of the term *imer* is **himer*, resp. **hiber*."¹ 103

EASTERN GEORGIA

Eastern or *Likht'-amieri* Georgia comprises the following "countries" or ethnographic divisions. 101 131

Kakhet'i (Kakh-et'-i), the country of the Kakh-s, Kakh-ians (Kakhetia and Kakhetians of the Russians), which constitutes the extreme eastern part of Georgia, lies between the Mtkvari (Kur)-Aragvi rivers (on the west) and the eastern part of the main Caucasus chain (the *Deghestan* and *Samur Alps*), stretching in a south-easterly direction from the Pirik'it'eli chain² of the Great Caucasus Mountains in the north to the confluence of the Rivers Yori and Alazani. 103 132

Kakhet'i is divided into two parts by the Kakhetian range or *Tsiv-Gomboris-mt'a*. This range is a ramification of the Great Caucasus, and stretches south-east, curling like a sickle; outside the curve lies the western or Outer (*Garet'*) Kakhet'i, and inside it the eastern or Inner (*Shignit'*) Kakhet'i. The former occupies the basin of the River Yori (in ancient times called the "Little Alazani") and the latter that of the Alazani. [133]

Inner Kakhet'i comprises:—

T'ushet'i (T'ush-et'-i)—the country of the T'ush-es (Tushetia and Tushins of the Russians), occupying the northern part of Inner Kakhet'i; its northern boundary is the Pirik'it'eli chain between the peaks Tebulos-mt'a (4507 m.) and Diklos-mt'a (4135 m.), north of the main Caucasus chain; a portion of the latter, between Mount Borbalo (3290 m.) and Mount Shavi-klde (3581 m.), stretches almost across the middle of the country. This portion of the Great Caucasus is known as the *Tushetian Alps*.

K'iziqi, under which name is known the district of Signagh (Signakh of the Russians), constitutes the southern part of Inner Kakhet'i, between the Yori and Alazani. It was also called Kambetchani or Kambetchoani.

Saingilo (Sa-ingil-o), north-east of K'iziqi, between the Alazani river and the Samur Alps, better known as the district of Zak'at'ala (Zakataly of the Russians).

¹ N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 168.

² So is called by the Georgians the chain running parallel to the main Caucasus chain (the watershed). It stretches north of the latter, at a distance of 10 to 30 km., from the Elbrus group in the west to the summit Shakh-dagh in the east. It is composed chiefly of granite and gneiss and forms the main tectonic axis of the whole Great Caucasus. [133]

101 Outer Kakhet'i includes :—
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103 *Khevsuret'i* (Khev-sur-et'i)—the country of the Khevsur-s,
162 occupying the northernmost part of Outer Karkhet'i, from the
[133] Mountains of Udzilauri in the south to the Pirik'it'eli chain north of the
main Caucasus chain. A portion of the latter, from the summit
Shino-tau (3928 m.) to Mount Borbalo, stretches in a south-easterly
direction across the country. Khevsuret'i occupies the defile of the
Khevsur Aragvi which flows southward, joining the P'shav Aragvi
near Ortsqali under the Udzilauri Mountains, and the defiles of the
K'istani or Labais-tsqali, Khakhobis-tsqali and Andakis-tsqali, which
flow northwards, and the confluence of which forms the River Argun,
the principal river of the Tchetchens in North Caucasia.

Pshavet'i (Pshav-et'-i)—the country of the P'shav-s, south of
Khevsuret'i, occupying the defiles of the P'shav Aragvi, which rises
in Mount Borbalo.

Besides T'ush-P'shav-Khevsuret'i, the Aragvi valleys and gener-
ally the northern parts of Kakhet'i and K'art'li comprised many
ethnic "countries" of the Georgian Mountaineers, each with its own
name and boundaries, some of which still exist.

Enumerated from south to north these are ¹:—

In the mountains called at present collectively the K'art'lian
range ² and on the upper course of the River Yori:

Erdso, in the Mountains of Erdso, north of the confluence of
the Erdsos-tsqali or Adzet'i, a western tributary of the Yori;

Dsobeni, north-west of Erdso, in the Mountains of Dsobona-
mt'a;

T'ianet'i, north of Erdso, occupying the upper valley of the
Yori;

P'khoet'i, north of T'ianet'i, covering the present day
P'shavet'i and Khevsuret'i. Prince Vakhust, a Georgian
geographer and historian of the eighteenth century, states that
the P'shavo-Khevsurians were called formerly *P'kho(v)elni*,
P'khovians.

In the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers
K'san and Aragvi:

Tskhavati, north of the confluence of the Alevi, an eastern
tributary of the K'san;

¹ See Javakhishvili, *History*, ii (1914), p. 302.

² The range called to-day the K'art'lian or *Kartalinshi Khrebet* in Russian (see
A. F. Lyayster and G. F. Tchursin, *Geografya Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1924, p. 23), is one of
the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, constituting the watershed
between the P'shav Aragvi and the Mtkvari(Kur) on the one hand and the Yori on
the other, and merges in the south with the Yori plateau. The *Kakhet'is-mt'a* and *Garejis-
mt'a* of the Georgian sources constituted the southern part of this K'art'lian range.

GUGUSHVILI: HISTORICAL DIVISION OF GEORGIA

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Dchartalet'i, east of Tskhavati, in the Dchartali and T'khnoli Mountains; 101 131 103 • 162

Tskhrazma, north of Tskhavati, in the gorge of the River Tskhrazmula, also an eastern tributary of the K'san.

In the upper gorges of the Aragvi rivers¹:

Gudamaqari (Gudamakar), occupying the valley of the Black Aragvi which is called also the Gudamaqari Aragvi;

Mt'iulet'i, the country of the Mt'i-ul-s, west of Gudamaqari, occupying the upper gorge of the White Aragvi which is called also the Mt'iulian Aragvi;

Khada, north-west of Mt'iulet'i and north of Gudamaqari;

Khevi, the country of the Mo-khev-e-ni, above Khada, at the beginning of the Terek valley;

Dsanaret'i (Dsan-ar-et'i or Dsanar-et'-i), the country of the Dsanar-s, possibly the neighbourhood, according to Javakhistvili, of *Dsilkanis-kari*—the "Gate of Dsilkani"—and *Gza Dsilkanisay*—the "Road of Dsilkani"—under which name was known *Gza Darielisay* or *Darialanisay*—the Road of Dariel (Darial) or Darialan (Dar-i-Alan).

In ancient times Kakhet'i was divided into three parts, namely:—

Kakhet'i proper, "the country between the Caucasus and the Kakhnetian range, from the Aragvi to Tqetba" (Gulguli above the town of T'elavi).

Kukhet'i (Kukh-et'-i),—the country south of Kakhet'i, "from the Aragvi to the head of the Mountains of Kakhet'i, between the Alazani and the Mtkvari," bounded on the south by the Mountains of Gareja or Garesja.²

Heret'i (Her-et'-i), the country south and south-east of Kukhet'-Kakhet'i, between the Mtkvari and the Caucasus (the Daghestan the Samur Alps), extending south-eastward to the Egri- or Airi-tchai-Kish rivers, called Gishis-tsqali in the Georgian sources, and the

¹ The River Aragvi rises under the name *Tet'i* (White) Aragvi in the main Caucasus chain, on Mount *Qeli* (Keli). At Pasanauri it is joined from the north by a tributary called *Shav* (Black) Argavi; further south, at Zhinvani, near Ananur, it receives from the north-east a tributary known as P'shav Aragvi, the middle and upper gorges of which are inhabited by the P'shavs. The P'shav Aragvi in its turn receives from the north a tributary called Khevsurian Aragvi. Below Zhinvani the river, which falls into the Mtkvari at Mtskhet'a, is called simply Aragvi. The name Aragvi was given by the Georgians also to the Terek which rises on Mounts Siveraut, Zilga-khokh, and Gimarai-khokh of the main Caucasus chain, and flows northward through the Darial Pass. In distinction from the White Aragvi, it was called *Aragvi Ovet'say*, i.e. Ossetian Aragvi. Georgians called the latter river also *Lomskhi* or *T'ergi*. [133]

² "Kakhet'i is T'ianeti above the Khevi (valley) of Turdo as far as Khevsuret'i; Kakhet'i is Samgori above Nino-Dsminda and higher up, above Samgori to the Mountain of Erdso and to the Aragvi" [see N. Marr, *Histoire de la Georgie, 1re Partie, Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.C.* (in Georgian), Petrograd, 1923, p. 20, n. 2.] [113]

- 101 junction of the Yori-Alazani.¹ Heret'i² thus covered the "countries"
 131 of K'iziqi and Saingilo, constituting at present the south-eastern part
 ● 103 of Inner Kakhet'i, and in addition *veli Qaraisa*—the Field of Qaraia,
 162 or the Steppe of Karayaz of the Russians, between the Mtkvari and
 the Yori.

According to Professor Javakhishvili³ all the three names—Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i or Kokhet'i, and Heret'i—implied different conceptions at different times, according as to whence came the dynasty of the K'orepiskoposi⁴ of the then Kakhet'i.

K'art'li (K'art'-l-i), the country of the K'art-s or K'art'-l-s, K'art'-(l)-ians (Kartalinia and Kartalinians of the Russians), which was divided into three main parts, namely:—

Inner (Shina) K'art'li (Northern K'art'li), between Imeret'i and Northern Kakhet'i, or the Suram range in the west and the Aragvi river and Tiflis in the east, extending from the T'rialet'ian or Arjevan range northwards to the Pirik'it'eli chain of the Great Caucasus.

Lower (K'vemo) K'art'li (Southern K'art'li), south of Inner K'art'li, between the southern Kakhet'i, or the Mtkvari on the east and the Javakhetian range or *Mokrye Gory* ("Wet Mountains") on the west, bounded on the south by the Erevnis-mt'a (Pambak) range.

Upper (Zemo) K'art'li (South-Western K'art'li), between the Lower K'art'li (east) and the Black Sea (west), stretching from the Adchara-Ghādo range in the north to the Mountains of Ispir and Deveh Boyun in the south. Viewed as part of Georgia as a whole, Upper K'art'li is often called Southern Georgia. Upper K'art'li or Southern Georgia thus occupies the upper basin of the Mtkvari, the middle basin of the Dchorokh, the two basins being divided by the Arsian-Soganlugh ranges, their watersheds, and the Black Sea littoral, divided from the Dchorokh valley by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range.

Each of the main parts of K'art'li comprised and still comprises the following ethnographic and traditional territorial divisions:—

Inner K'art'li:—

Oset'i (Os-et'-i)—the country of the Os-es or Ossets (Osetia and Osetins of the Russians), which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet Socialist province within Georgia, occupies the northern part of K'art'li, above the Gori plain, between Radcha and the River K'san. By origin the Ossets are not Georgians, but by the fact of their settlement in Georgia they have, for centuries,

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¹ Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1919, p. 41.

² "According to Vakhush't the name Kukhet'i went out of use during the period of Arab hegemony, when a local dynasty became established in Kakhet'i; and the name Heret'i was abandoned in 1466, when the Kingdom of Kakhet'i was set up." (See W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 62-3.)

³ *History*, v. ii, p. 259.

⁴ Or K'orikos, the title of the Ruling Princes of Kakhet'i, in the early Middle Ages.

been very closely associated both historically and culturally with them. They call themselves *Iron*, and occupy the very centre of the Great Caucasus which divides their country into two parts, the northern and southern, the latter of which lies within Georgia. This part of K'art'li, before the Ossets came from over the Caucasus chain, was inhabited by the Georgian Mountaineers called Dsanars (Dsan-ar). 101
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Lower K'art'li:—

Gardabani, the eastern part of Lower K'art'li, along the lower valleys of the rivers K'tsia (Khram), and Berduji (Bortchalo).¹

Gatchiani, west of Gardabani, the central part of Lower K'art'li, the middle valley of the K'tsia (Khram) and the Mashaveri valley, "from the River Skoret'i (the modern Vere or Vera) to the mountain which is Tashiri and Abotsi,"² east of the Tchaldir Lake.

T'rialet'i, west of Gatchiani, the upper valley of the K'tsia (Khram), from the Lake P'aravan to the Borjom defile, called anciently *Tasis* or *Tashis Kari*.

In the Middle Ages the name Gardabani (Gardbani) or Khunani applied to the whole country between the Mtkvari in the north and the Pambak range in the south, including thus part of Inner K'art'li.

The southern part of Gardbani was known to the classical writers (Strabo, etc.) as *Gogarene*. The latter, the Georgian equivalent of which is *Gugaret'i*, covered, according to Professor Javakhishvili, the present day "Dchodchkani-Bolnis-Dmanisi valleys, Tashir, Abots (Kaikul), and the southern part of T'rialet'i. . . . The trace of the former name of this province is preserved in the present-day geographical name of Gujaret'i [Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 425, note]. . . . In Georgian geographical terminology this Gogarene-Gugaret'i was often called *K'vemo K'art'li*."³

In the tenth century there appeared yet another name for this province, namely *Somkhit'i*, by which name, however, was known only the Bolnis-Dmanis valley and the Lore plain.⁴

Upper K'art'li:—

The countries of the south-eastern littoral of the Black Sea:—

Adchara (Adjara) of the Turks and the Russians), which under

¹ Gardabani is called (the country) below Dchapala, Nakhidur, and Tagnaget's as far as the Mtkvari " (Marr, op. cit., p. 19, n. 6). Dchapala is a little west of Shulaveri. Gardabani or Gardbani was also called Khunani; the country derived its two names from those of its two chief towns, Gardbani and Khunani. Earlier, however, the town of Khunani was called Mtkvris-Taikhe ("the Mtkvari's Castle or Fortress") the ruined remains of which are known to-day as Qizqala (Kyzkala of the Russian maps) at the junction of the K'tsia and the Mtkvari.

² Gatchiani derived its name from that of its chief town, which was called also *Sanadiro K'alak'i* "the Hunting Town". The sites of the towns Gatchiani and Gardabani remain as yet unidentified.

³ Javakhishvili, *Frontiers*, p. 16. Since the introduction of the Russian administrative division most of K'vemo K'art'li has been known as the *Bortchalo* district.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

101 the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet
 102 Socialist Republic within Georgia, borders on the Black Sea between
 103 the River Tcholak' and the village Sarp, south of Batum, where begins
 the present-day frontier line between Georgia and Turkey. Adchara
 is bounded on the north by the Adchara range; on the east by the
 Arsian range, where it borders upon Samtskhe; on the south by the
 Shavshet'i range, and on the south-west by the Dchorokh river.

K'obulet'i (K'ob-ul-et'-i), at present included within the
 autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adchara (Adjara),
 occupied almost the whole Black Sea littoral of that country. Formerly,
 however, K'obulet'i formed part of Guria; Adchara proper constitutes
 the country between the Adchara and Shevshet'i ranges, or the basin
 of the river Adcharis-tsqali.

Livana, the country south of K'obulet'i, between the Black Sea
 coast and the lower basin of the Dchorokh as far as the town of Artvin.

Dchanet'i (Dchan-et'-i)—the country of the Dchan-s, Dchan-ians
 (Tchanians, Chanians of the Russians), better known as Lazistan—
 the country of the Laz, a narrow strip of land south of Livana, along
 the Black Sea coast, stretching towards Trebizond, and bounded on the
 east and south-east by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range, which divides
 it from Klarjet'i.

The countries of the Dchorokh basin :—

Shavshet'i, the country south of Adchara and east of Livana,
 bounded on the east by the Arsian range and on the south by the
 Shavshet'i-tsqali or Imerkhevi.

Klarjet'i, south of Shavshet'i, bounded on the east by the Arsian
 range and on the south by the Khkert'-dagh.¹ In the west Klarjet'i
 extended, according to medieval Georgian historians, L. Mroveli and
 Juansher, to the Black Sea; the present-day boundary, however, is
 the Dchanet'ian or Pontic range, where it borders upon Dchanet'i.

Tao, south of Klarjet'i, occupying the Bana-Olt'isi basin. The
 boundaries of Tao are not indicated in any of the early Georgian
 documents, but from the study of the scattered references contained
 in these documents Professor Javakhishvili² has come to the con-
 clusion that within Tao the fortress of Panaskerti was near the north-
 eastern boundary and the village of Zedkareki, the present-day
 Zadgerekhi, near the south-eastern; Olt'isni (Olty of the Russian
 maps) was near the south-western and the fortress of Tukharisi³
 near the north-western, boundaries; and Ishkhani near the western
 boundary.

¹ Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 328.

² Ibid., pp. 331-3.

³ Tukharisi was on the Dchorokh, on the boundary line between Tao and
 Klarjet'i for, according to an Armenian anonymous Geography, quoted by
 Javakhishvili, "the Dchorokh enters Klarjet'i near the fortress of Tukharisi."

Georgian sources mention the following divisions of Tao: Lower¹⁰¹ (K'vemo) Tao and Imier Tao, that is Tao on that side of the Bana¹³¹ Olt'isi River. There must have been also, as Javakhishvili states,¹⁰³ Upper (Zemo) Tao and Amier ("this side") Tao. At the end of the¹⁶² tenth century Imier Tao was held by David the Great Kuropalat, a local Bagratid dynast (see pp. 120, 122), while Amier Tao constituted the paternal estate of King Bagrat III of Georgia (978-1014). After the death of David the Great Kuropalat († 1001), who died without an issue, Imier Tao was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Basil (see Avalishvili, *La succession du Curopalate David d'Iberie, dynaste de Tao*, in *Byzantion*, Brussels, 1933, vol. viii; also Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 332).

Basiani, south of Tao, the Plain of Pasin of the Turks.

Ispiri, the basin of the River Ispiris-tsqali, an eastern tributary of the Dchorokh; hence called also *Ispiris-kh'oba*—the valley of Ispir.

T'ort'omi, the basin of the River *T'ort'omis-Mdinare*, a tributary of the Olt'isis-tsqali (Olti river), hence called also *T'ort'omis-kheoba* the Valley of T'ort'omi; it extended southward to the defile called *Sak'art'velos Qeli* by the Georgians and *Gurdji Boghaz*, "the Throat of Georgia," by the Turks, which lies north of Erzerum.

The "countries" of the Mtkvari basin:—

Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e), the country of the Mtskh-ians or Meskh-ians, in the north-east of Upper K'art'li, between the Arsian range on the west and the Tashis Kari (the Borjom defile) and the Lake Tbisquri (Tabistskhuri) in the east; on the south it was bounded by the Erushet'is-mt'a or Ulgar range and a line from above Khert'visi, at the junction of the Akhaltsikhis-tsqali (the P'otskhov river) with the Mtkvari, to the Lake Tbisquri.

Javakhet'i, the country south of Samtskhe and T'rialet'i between the Arsian range on the west and the Javakhetian range (*Mokrye Gory*) on the east, extending to the Lakes Abotsi (Madatapa), Kardsakhi (Khozapin), and a line just above the town of Nak'alak'evi in the south.¹

Artani (Artahani, Artaani; Ardagan of the Turks and the Russians), south of Javakhet'i, between the Arsian range (west) and the Lake Tchaldir (east).²

Kola, south of Artani and east of Tao, in which country, in the *Kolays Khevi*—the valley of Kola—is the source of the Mtkvari or the Kura of the Russians (in the Mountains of Kola—*Kolis-mt'a*—the present-day *Kula*, the Gel of the Russian maps).¹

¹ Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), pp. 319, 322, 325.

² Javakhet'i and Artani as demarcated above include the country of *Erushet'i*, which constitutes the western part of the former and the northern part of the latter, lying thus between Samtskhe (north) and Artani (south).

101 *Abotsi*, called formerly *Palaktsio* and later *Qaiguli* (*Kaikul* of the
 162 Russian maps), the land south of Javakhet'i, between Artan-Kola
 103 (west) and Tashiri (east), divided from the latter by the mountains of
 131 Karakhatch or Qaraghaj (formerly called Irjan); on the south it was
 bounded by Mount Agh (Akh)-Baba.¹

174 Upper K'art'li was, and is still, called *Meskheth'i* (*Meskh-et'-i*),
 103 which indicates that it constituted the country of the Meskh-s,
 Meskh-ians. The Meskhians were one of the first Georgian tribes to
 enter Transcaucasia and settle in what later became known as Georgia.
 There are evidences which enable us to deduce that they had spread
 earlier into Western Georgia and northward, and later into Eastern
 Georgia,² where they seem to have organized their political life with
 a centre at Mtskhet'a, the ancient capital of Georgia (from fourth
 century B.C. to fifth century A.D.).

"As the ancient metropolis of the Georgian Kingdom was called
 Mtskhet'a," states Professor Javakhishvili,³ "one is led to the con-
 clusion that when the Georgian tribes were settling in Georgia the
 Meskhian tribe must have possessed the greatest political importance,
 for the name of the ancient capital of Georgia, *Mtskhet'i* or *Mtskhet'a*,
 denotes Meskheth'i or 'the settlement of the Meskhians'; a similar
 form, *Mtskhe*, of the name of the Meskhians is preserved in the name
 of the country where later dwelt an inconsiderable part of the
 Meskhians, namely, in Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e); in this word as in the
 word Mtskhet'a, the *mtskhe* denotes Meskhians."

103 Of their domination in Eastern Georgia we are reminded to-day
 not only by the name of Mtskhet'a, but also by that of a whole province
 called Somkhit'i, part of Lower K'art'li, which, according to the late
 Professor N. Marr, represents a compound ethnic term composed of
 the names of two ethnic groups, the Son-s or Svanians and Meskh-s,
 Meskhians, denoting thus the country of the Svano-Meskhians.⁴

The name Meskheth'i in this sense implied a wider conception and
 included not only what later became known as Upper K'art'li, but also
 Inner K'art'li. Meskheth'i implies a wide conception even in the sense
 of Upper K'art'li; actually Meskheth'i proper, in the narrow, ethno-
 graphic sense, was only the upper valley of the Mtkvari from the Tasis

¹ Situated between Upper K'art'li or Meskheth'i and Lower K'art'li, Abotsi formed
 part sometimes of Meskheth'i and sometimes, particularly during the seventeenth-
 eighteenth centuries, of Lower K'art'li (Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia*, pp. 35-8).

² Meskhians were preceded in Eastern Georgia by other Georgian tribes, such as
 Kasko-Kolkhians whence the names Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i, etc. An article dealing with
 the question of the settlement of the Georgian tribes in Transcaucasia will be published
 in a future number of *Georgica*.

³ *History*, vol. i, (1913), p. 89.

⁴ Son-meskh, resp. Shon-meskh → so-mekhkh → so-mekh → = → so-mkh → so-
 mkh-et'-i. N. Marr, *Astronomical and ethnic meanings of two tribal names of the
 Armenians* (in Russian), in *Bulletin* ("Zapiski") of the Eastern Branch of the Russian
 Archaeological Society, St. Pb., 1921, p. 252.

Kari (the Borjom defile) to Kola, at its source. The valley of the¹⁰³ Dchorokh, or Tao—Klarjet'—Shavshet'i, with Kola, constituted anciently the country of the Kolkho-Ibero-Dchanian tribes.¹ Meskhet'i, in the sense of Upper K'art'li, was called, in the late Middle Ages and later, *Samtskhe-Saat'abago*, i.e. the *Atabagate*² of *Samtskhe*. The name Meskhet'i survives to-day as already stated, in that of Samtskhe, the province which since the introduction of the Russian administrative division, has been known as the Akhaltsikh district. At the present time the whole of Meskhet'i, with the exception of Adchara, Samtskhe, and Javakhet'i (approximately the administrative division of Akhalkalak) is under Turkish rule.

As will have already been noticed from the explanation of the term Meskhet'i, K'art'li as defined above, with her three divisions (Inner, Lower, and Upper), did not in ancient times represent ethnographically the country of the K'art'ians or K'art'lians. K'art'li proper, according to Professor Javakhishvili, denoted Inner K'art'li, defined in the Georgian Chronicle, *The Life of Georgia*, as the country "from the Aragvi and Tiflis to Tasis Kari and (the Lake) P'aravan", that is without Javakhet'i or Samtskhe or any other part of Meskhet'i.³ The name K'art'li thus, like the names Ap'khazet'i, Egrisi, etc., is also to be understood both in the narrow and broad sense. In the broad sense the significance of the term K'art'li, says Javakhishvili, "is the result of politico-national growth of the Georgians". In this sense the name K'art'li covered also Kakhet'i and Heret'i, that is the entire Eastern Georgia, in which case the terms All K'art'li, or United K'art'li, were used. A perfect definition of the collective or rather national-cultural conception implied in this term is given by Giorgi (George) Mertchuli (tenth century) in his *Life of St. Gregory Khandzteli of Klarjet'i*: "K'art'li is a vast country (namely all that) within which the Church Service is carried out and all the prayers are said in the Georgian language."⁴ In this national-cultural significance the term K'art'li denoted the lands of "All Georgian tribes".⁵

When K'art'li extended her power over Western Georgia and the

¹ "In the basin of the River Dchorokh, and not on the Rion dwelt the tribe that created the ancient Kolkhida, so well known in the West from the popular Greek legend. The ancient home of the Iverians or Tibarenians, the eponymous representative of whom is mentioned in the Bible, in Genesis, under the name of Tubal, also adjoined this basin. . . . Klarjet'i and the region of Tao, so closely bound up with it, appear at the dawn of their historical life together with . . . the Ivero-Dchanians or Megrelo-Lazes . . ." [N. Marr, *Georgi Mertchul, the Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a, the Georgian text; with the diary of a journey to Shavshet'i and Klarjet'i* (in Russian); St. Pb., 1911, p. 11.]

² See pp. 140-3.

³ Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), p. 285.

⁴ N. Marr, *Georgi Mertchul, etc.*, pp. xvi, 123.

⁵ *Acts of the Ecclesiastical Council at Ruis-Urbnisi*, quoted by Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), p. 286. This Council was convened in 1103 by King David II, the Builder (1069-1125).

- 103 K'art'lian Kings thus united under a single crown all the Georgian lands west and east of the Suram range and south of the Adchara-Ghado range, to designate the Kingdom of United Georgia the name *Sak'art'velo* (Sa-k'art'-v-el-o) was invented, which, according to Professor Javakhishvili first appears in the Georgian literary monuments in the eleventh century A.D. Until the invention of this collective name, K'art'li appears to have denoted even the whole United Kingdom of Georgia, which is, as Professor Melikset-Bekov, the well-known Armeno-Georgian scholar notes, illustrated by the Georgian Chronicle, "the first part of which brought down to the division of Georgia in the fifteenth century, that is, treating of United Kingdom of Georgia, is given the same title as the second part, treating of divided Georgia, namely *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*, literally 'The Life of K'art'li'." ¹

Eastern Georgia bore, and still bears, particularly in literature, another name—that of *Iberia*, the name under which classical writers knew her. Though unknown to Georgian annals or to any other early literary monuments so far discovered, the name *Iberia* or *Iveria* has been accorded recognition in Georgia, and in course of time it has come to denote not only Eastern Georgia of the classical writers, but also the whole of Georgia, used thus frequently as the equivalent term of *Sak'art'velo*.

We have said above that early Georgian annals made no mention of terms like *Iberia* and *Lazica* or *Kolkhida* (Colchis), applied by the classical writers to Eastern and Western Georgia respectively. What is really strange and peculiar about both the classical writers and the Georgian annals is that neither of them use the name of the country the other mentions. The Georgian annals, although they furnish, from the first king (302 B.C.) onwards, a complete list of kings of Georgia, with dates, and in many cases an ample description of life and doings of each king, make no mention, not even once, of the name *Iberia* or the *Iberian Kingdom*; every king from the first, whose life they describe, is a King of K'art'li, and the country is always either merely K'art'li or All K'art'li. Similarly they use *Egrisi* as the collective term for Western Georgia, but never *Lazica* or *Kolkhida*. Nor are the classical writers indebted in this respect to the Georgian annals. In their description of Eastern and Western Georgia they call the country *Iberia* and *Colchis* or *Lazica* respectively; they make no mention of K'art'li or *Egrisi*, and do not even seem to know that such local names ever existed.

What is the explanation of such a divergence in the use of these terms? We have seen above that they "in one case (with a wider

conception) covering each other territorially differ chronologically, while in another (with a narrower conception) coinciding chronologically differ territorially". We have also seen how and why one name replaced another. Now one tribe would gain the ascendancy and establish its hegemony, now another, as if vying with each other in moulding, each after its own ideal, what was then an agglomeration of Georgian tribes, into a homogeneous body called a nation. This process of inter-tribal supersedence, of mingling and blending, of national-cultural fusion, has been so slow and peaceful, that it has remained, as the late S. Gorgadze, a well-known Georgian historian, observes, unnoticed by the outside world, so that "the foreign writers who have, during the period under review,¹ said something about Eastern Georgia, obstinately call the country 'Iberia' or 'Iveria' and not 'K'art'li' or 'Meskhet'i' or 'Kakhet'i', just as the same writers called Western Georgia for a long time 'Kolkhida' and only towards the end of the period changed it to 'Lazica', although having regard to the new composition of the population at this time 'Egeria' or 'Egrisi' would have been a more suitable term than any other ethnic name."²

In the opinion of the late Professors N. Y. Marr and I. Kipshidze,¹⁴⁴ the eminent Georgian scholars, and their school of thought, the Iberians are the ancestors of the Western Georgians, the Egro-Megrelians (Mingrelians), Imerians (Imeretians), and Gurians, which ethnic names represent mere dialectic variations of the name Iber.

According to Marr: "Under the Iberians in the local ethnographic meaning of the term one should understand not the Eastern but the Western Georgians—more correctly the central, that is, the second series of the Georgian tribes, dwelling beyond the maritime Laz, and adjoining upon them, spread along the inner zone of Caucasia, like a curve from Sper to Svanet'i, consequently including a greater part, if not the whole, of Megrelia."³

If Iber and Iberian denoted the "Western Georgian", the question that naturally suggests itself is how did the "Eastern Georgian" come to be called by this name? To this question the late Professor Kipshidze gives the following answer: "We know that Eastern Georgia was called Iveria. Strabo, describing Iveria and Kolkhida, sharply separates them one from the other. This evident contradiction finds an explanation in that usual historical occurrence, when the name of one people is transferred to another because of the political supersedence of the one over the other. Evidently there was a time before

¹ This period is sixth century B.C.—seventh century A.D. (A.D. 643 the date of the Arab invasion of Georgia).

² S. R. Gorgadze, *Ancient History of Georgia* (in Georgian), Kutais, 1920, 3rd ed., p. 44. [113]

³ N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians, and Alans*, by St. Gregory, an Arab version, in *Zapiski of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, St. Pb., 1906, vol. 16, p. 170.

101 the Christian era when the Ivers dominated politically their eastern kinsmen, the K'art's (Georgians), in consequence of which Eastern Georgia began to be called Iveria, just in the same way as when later on the K'art's seized the political helm of the country, they gave to both parts of the country one common politico-cultural name of Sak'art'velo, that is, Georgia, establishing the Georgian (K'art'lian) everywhere as the literary ecclesiastical language and completely 'Kartlianizing' the greater half of the Iverians, namely the present-day Imerians, Gurians, and Adcharians."¹

To quote once more the late Professor Marr: "The Greeks call Georgia and Georgians, to the great amazement of the Georgians themselves, Iveria and Iberians, and the same appellation is repeated after the Greeks, to the still greater amazement of the Georgians, by the Armenians (*vir-k*, *Veria*, in the *Geography* of Khoren). Particularly astonishing is this term from the lips of the Armenians who, one should have thought, could have known that Georgians called their country K'art'li (from *K'art'w-i, Sak'art'velo—the latest national-cultural and often also political term) and themselves K'art'vel."²

● 103 Last, but not the least, is the term *Georgia* itself, which is unknown to the Georgians themselves. This term appears to have taken a circuitous route to reach Western Europe. Though very foreign both in appearance and vocalization, it is, in fact, according to Marr, Georgian by origin and its home the land of the Eger-Megrelians, in Western Georgia, for it is derived from the same stem (*Eger*, *Ger*, resp. **Gver*, *Gur*), which with the equally Georgian suffix *-en*, resp. *-an* appears in the Syriac *Gur-zan*, the Arabic جُرْذَان or جُرْحَان.³

The Arabic كُرج represents the same stem *Gur* with a pure tribal name-suffix *dj*, resp. *dz*. And from this stem *Gurdj*, resp. *Gurz* are derived, Marr declares, the Russian form *Gruziya* (< **Gur-ziya*) and the Western European *Georgia*.

Melikset-Bekov, however, gives a different interpretation of the origin of this name. In his opinion the Persian *Gurdj-an* and Arabic

¹ I. Kipshidze, *A Grammar of the Mingrelian (Iverian) Language* (in Russian), St. Pb., 1914, p. xiv. See also Melikset-Bekov, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

² Marr further mentions the fact that the Georgians themselves call Armenia and Armenian "to a no less amazement of the Armenians" Somkhet'i and Sotnekhi respectively. The amazement of the Armenians with regard to the latter case must be shared also by the Georgians who know their historical ethnography, for it is indisputable that names ending in *kh-i*, as in Kol-kh-i (dialectically *Koro-kh-i, resp. Kolo-kh-i, whence the names of the Rivers Dchoro-kh-i = Dchorokh, Dcholo-kh-i = Dcholok'), Ka-kh-i = Kakhet'i, Mes-kh-i = Meskhan, Tao-kh-i = Tao, etc., are, understanding the term in a generic sense, characteristic of the Georgian tribal names. The Georgians, however, becoming acquainted with the Armenians in the first place through their own kinsmen, who colonized the Georgian district of Somkhiti, transferred the name of the original Georgian inhabitants of this district to the Armenians" (*Baptism*, etc., p. 167).

³ N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 169, n. 2.

GUGUSHVILI: HISTORICAL DIVISION OF GEORGIA

71

Djurdj-an have at their basis the form *Gurg-an*, which is a variety¹⁰³ (whether dialectical or chronological it is indifferent) of the name of one of the provinces of ancient Georgia, namely *Gug-ar-et'-i*. (Gr. *Gog-ar-en-e*.) This is the province which, according to Melikset-Bekov's theory, was for a long time a halting place of the Japhetic tribes moving from the south northwards; in particular of the *Gog-gug* or *Go(r)g-gu(r)g*, mentioned in the Bible together with the *Ros*, *Mosokh* (*Mesokhs*), and *Tobel* (*Ibers*), as the eponym of *Gog*, who operated in the country of *Magog*.¹ From *Gog-go(r)g* was evidently formed, Melikset-Bekov declares, the Greek form of the name *G(e)org-ia*, the origin of which was connected by many either with the cult of St. George so rooted in Georgia, or with the Greek word *he Georgia* denoting an agriculturist, because Georgia is essentially an agricultural country. From the Greek form of the name are derived all other forms used in Western Europe, such as *Georgien*, *Georgie*, *Georgia*.²

¹ The prefix *ma* is characteristic of the Megrelian language, as *Margali* (Gr. *Manraloi*)—a Megrelian.

² L. M. Melikset-Bekov, op. cit., pp. 95-6. See also A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the enclosed Nations*, 1925, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 113

C.
 563 a most crude way, which sometimes is found
 G.
 105 so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental
 countries of the present epoch. The technical
 backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus
 often matched by a technocratic overemphasis
 which threatens to level out everything these
 countries have produced and contributed to
 their own and to common human culture.

Georgians

C.
 G.
 162 The K'art'velians or Georgians proper
 101 have been split into two groups, an eastern and
 western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the
 north and the Azerbaidjanians from the south-
 east. The latter extend as far northwestward
 C. as the immediate vicinity of the modern capi-
 G. tal of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi,
 ● [103] "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian]
 "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf.
 Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot
 Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus,
 "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward,
 the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of
 the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's
 Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi
 valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora,
 almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios)
 —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley.
 The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and
 southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (prac-
 tically all the land at the left bank, i. e., south